

Animadversions
ON THE
SPEECH

Read by the late
LORD STAFFORD,
At the Place of
EXECUTION
ON
TOWER-HILL.

Plainly shewing
The Fallacy of all the Asseverations of His
INNOCENCY.

By *W. P. Gent.* *K.*

LONDON:

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ANIMADVERSIONS ON THE Lord Staffords SPEECH.

THEY who go about to make an argument of the late Lord *Stafford's* innocency, That he did not tremble at the sight of the Sheriffs; That he mounted the Scaffold without crickling in the hams; That he could tread the stage of his Execution without stumbling; Read his part (had he so done) without fumbling; Put off his hat to the people as his cue lead him, and lay down his neck upon the block without offending the noses of them that stood by, will be extremely deceived in their expectation. For if mortality can be wrought upon to believe with an absolute faith, that it is positively necessary for him so to do for the benefit of that Opinion which he professes at his death, and that the advantages which he brings to his Cause, will upon the separation of his head from his body, most certainly invest him in the quick possession of eternal happiness; surely he may easily dispence with the apprehensions of death for an hour or two, and continue a seeming confidence for such a small time, to amuse the multitude, and give his friends an occasion to make their delusive comments upon his strained behaviour. For strained and forc'd it was, as any man might have seen with half an eye; and all his motions were but the clockwork of a strong perswasion. And it may be truly said, That his Lordship in his own Tragedy did but act the part of an Innocent; which because he did not that well neither, does but improve the received opinion, That he was not what he pretended himself to be. Innocency is so naturally eloquent, that it appears in the rudest deformity of expression when sincerely uttered. But for a dying Malefactor to come and read a Harangue of another man's making, to justify his innocency, is but a confirmation that real Crimes want studied defences. Nor was it ever known that men that pleaded for themselves with other mens labours, ever truly pierc'd the hearts either of Commiseration or Convincement. 'Tis a sad sign that the deficiency of knowledg of my own innocency lyes at my door, or indeed that I knew not what it was to be innocent, that I must be forced to justify my innocency by the assistance of another

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man's Pen. Had the Gentleman that made the Speech been in his Lordships room, and had spoke his own words himself, perhaps he might have had better success. But here the Papists made his Lordship speak like the Idol which contained the Impostor of a Priest that murmur'd through the Conclave of the wood'n Resemblance. However be it granted that his seeming constancy and carelessness of behaviour had been innate, and had inhabited within him; 'tis not the first time that Criminals, as bad as he, have made use of protestations as deep to purge their innocency, and have shewed a fortitude far surpassing his Lordships. Marshal *Biron*, once a faithful subject to his Prince, but afterwards convicted of a Villanous Conspiracy against his Sovereign *Henry* the fourth of *France*, and for that reason sentenced to lose his head, protested his innocency, and challenged the Chancellor to appear before God to answer his Appeal; nay he went further, and accused the King of Ingratitude and Injustice. And *Vannius* himself dyed in flames denying God, with a Gallantry highly superior to that of this same instructed and lectur'd Criminal.

This Resolution and Constancy of theirs, or rather pertinacy in a bad Cause, was nevertheless in them natural and genuine; but whether his Lordships obstinacy were not the effect of medicamented drinks and diet, is a question that will not easily be resolved in his favour. For certainly it could be no act of a sedate consideration, to suffer the weakness of his memory, and the meanness of his parts, to be so openly exposed, that he should not be able to deliver himself in the justification of his innocency, but by reading a studied and formal Homily to the people, so full of Bigotism and misguided ignorance. And indeed, who can believe what he read to be true, when he had not the confidence to believe or give credit to himself? So that the Papists may give out what ere they please, That the Executioner martyred his body, but most certainly his pretended friends were the persons that unkindly martyr'd his Reputation. 'Tis the general belief, that the words of a dying man bear a great sway among the people; but the words which this dying Criminal read to the people, were not the words of a dying man, but of a living *Incognito*, which the dying person was deluded to read, because he wanted words of his own, or at least such artificial and cunning phrases as were proper for the purpose and designs of the living. For as to the Speech it self, it is as plain as noon-day-light, that it is only a continued piece of Frame-work Weavery to cover and conceal the dilated and general Crime of the whole Party, by putting words into his Lordships mouth to bespatter as well His Majesty himself, as the great Assembly of the Nation who were his Judges. And all this with such a thin-spun Vail of untruths and falsities, which unless they can annihilate the men that wrote, obliterate the Writings which they left behind, and expunge all the truth of History, all the impudent sanctity of *Rome*, nor all the subtil evasions of her most deeply interested Casuists can ever be able to hide from the world. Now then to take the Second-hand piece by

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*By the permission of Almighty God I am this day brought
hither to suffer death, as if I were guilty of High
Treason.*

The person that penn'd this Speech knew well, that according to the Proverb, with some variation, Mad men, and men under the hands of the Executioner, might say any thing. Here is in the first place the Providence of God arraign'd for permitting him to *suffer death* innocently. But setting aside his extravagant peek against Heaven, in the next place he bids defiance to the whole Justice of the Nation, which all that know the Justice and proceedings of other Countreys, will acknowledg to be the fairest and most indulgent of any part of Christendom. He himself, using his own expressions, had confest, after his sentence, that there was a design to have brought in Popery, and that he was privy to the same. His Majesty, the Parliament, and his Judges, had examined the said design, and had found what it was, were sensible how far his Lordship was particularly engaged in what he had in general confest, and thereupon had justly condemned him to dye. Yet after all this he has the confidence to read the words of another man, and say, he is brought to suffer death *as if guilty of High Treason*. So strangely had the ferments of continued intoxications betrayed him into an unlucky forgetfulness. His Lordship had very hard fortune to be the first that the Parliament of *England* had Impeached, *as if he were guilty of High Treason*; that he should be the first his Peers had found guilty only as if he were guilty of High Treason; and that he should be the first that God and his Vicegerent the King had suffered to dye, *as if he were guilty of High Treason*. The people of *England*, nay the whole Christian World, besides his own insatuated party, will never believe such a Paradox in the sincere and most fair dealing Justice of the King and Parliament of this Nation. They will certainly believe the sentence of the most awful and magnificent Court in the whole world, before the second-hand insinuations of a Traytor upon the Scaffold. He goes on:

*I do most truly, in the presence of the Eternal, Omnipotent
and all-knowing God, protest upon my salvation, That I
am as innocent as it is possible for any man to be, so much
as in thought, of the Crimes laid to my charge.*

Here the question may be put, Who it was that made this protestation, whether the prisoner upon the Scaffold, or the person that contrived the Writing? To say truth, it looks a little scandalously that his
Lordship

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Lordship was only *Deputy-Protector* for another. A Tragical Scene laid between the Poet and the Actor, that the one should write, and the other personate. His Lordship being doubtless made to believe, that no sinner could be accountable in the other world for another mans words. They had hung a padlock upon his lips by assuring him of Heaven; and that he might not seem to injure his conscience at his death, they put a design'd and modell'd Scroll of Protestations and Asseverations into his hand, which he read on to the end of the Chapter, not minding what he read, because it was none of his own. By which means, in regard they knew it was not convenient to suffer him to live, they thought to make an advantage of his death. Thus *Tresham*, one of the chief Conspirators in the Powder-Plot, by the importunity of his Wife, upon his salvation denied that he had seen *Garnet* in sixteen years, and so dyed: And yet all his solemn protestations not long after proved to be meerly lyes and falsities by the Confession of *Garnet* himself. Thus lately the solemn protestations of *Ireland* at his death, were soon after evinced for most notorious falshoods and untruths by his own near Relation. And thus no doubt it will be shortly made appear upon what score, and who they were that over-rul'd this Lord to sacrifice his life for the general good and support of a Treasonable and Villanous Conspiracy.

If it be not thus, 'tis absolutely worse, that one whose protestation upon his Honour had been formerly sufficient to have given him a sacred credit, should here before the *all-knowing God*, and upon *his salvation*, protest his innocency of the *Crimes* laid to his charge, and that with such aggravations, so far as it was possible for any man to be, or so much as in a thought; and all this after he himself had confessed himself guilty but a small time before, at the bar of the Lords House. He confessed there was a design to bring in Popery, which was it self a combination against the King and his Government. So then it was impossible for him to be so innocent as the person that knew of no such thing, and consequently impossible for him to be so innocent as it was possible for any man to be. Neither could he be innocent so much as in a thought; for he that does but consent and connive at a design, if he does not think well of it, and wish it may come to pass, is a fool; and void of his rational faculty. No fact of a high nature, that tends to the confusion of a Kingdom, can justify the innocency of any person. But to conceal a design for the introducing of Popery into this Nation, is a fact of a high nature; and he is sufficiently criminal that serves the ambition and treason of others, though unwillingly. He has transgressed more than it is possible for another man to do, and consequently cannot be innocent so much as in thought. So that his Lordships having confessed himself guilty in part, and being condemned, sentenced, and executed for the whole, the people must believe him guilty of the whole, notwithstanding all his solemn protestations before the *All-knowing God*.

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It may be therefore wondred rather, that the *Roman Catholicks* should continue this stale way to support their Treasons and their Impious Conspiracies by tyrannizing over the Consciences of their dying Bigots, and inforcing them to make such unhallowed Protestations of their innocency, as if there were no competent Judges of the innocency of a Criminal, but the Criminal himself and his Abettors. They that have polluted their Religion for so many years with the Doctrine of Equivocations, and the practice of falsifying at their deaths, can never believe that the most solemn protestations of a Popish Criminal at his death, so fairly and so honourably condemned as this was, can be worth the labour of their wicked instructions and treacherous exhortations.

Having thus weakly at the beginning guarded his own innocency, it cannot be imagined that any credit should be given to the rest that follows. However you shall hear how he read on.

I am not ashamed of my Religion, &c.

Truly the more was the pity. For what a sort of Religion d'ye think it is? Such a Religion as the very Abbots and Priors in the publick Concessions and Resignations of their Lands and Livings to *Henry* the eight, confessed and acknowledged under their hands and seals to be composed of nothing but false Worship, Hypocrisie, Ignorance, Avarice and Laziness, as may be seen in the publick Records still in being. Such a Religion of which a great Historian writes, *That the extraordinary ignorance of the Ecclesiasticks, of whom there were many that could not so much as read, the scandalous lives of others that kept Concubines, were common Drunkards and Usurers, gave the people an occasion to mistrust that it was none of the best.* Such a Religion, of which the same Historian writes, that the Residence of the Pope, the Head of it, and his Court at *Avignon*, taught *France* more Vice than ever it was acquainted with before, and more particularly *Sodomy*. Such a Religion against which there is more to be said, than against any Religion that ever was professed in the world among Rational men. So that there is nothing moving in that pathetical expression; only charity may be apt to think, that had the Sufferer not professed it, he might have expected a better end.

And whereas, saith he, it hath so much and often been objected, That the Church holds that Kings Excommunicated by the Pope may by their subjects be deposed and murdered: As to the murdering of Princes, I have

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been taught as a matter of faith in the Catholick Faith, That such Doctrine is Diabolical, horrid, and detestable, &c. and as such from my heart I renounce and abhor it.

It did not appear by his Lordships reading a borrowed Speech at his death, that his Lordship had ever been overmuch taught; nor does it signify any thing how his Lordship was taught; for most certain it is, the Popes of *Rome* for some hundreds of years have been of a contrary opinion to his School-Master. They that did it, did very ill to delude a dying man to preach his ignorance so publicly, at a time when he ought to have been so chary of what he said. Indeed they were kind to his Lordships Conscience in this particular, as to confine it within the bounds of his Lordships Learning. But the people must not be cheated so; they are to understand that it is not only an Article, but a Maxime of the Popes Faith, to murder Crowned Kings as well as Excommunicate 'em; and not only Hereticks, but all that will undertake to dispute his Authority. The Examples of *Zachary* and *Chiderick*, *Boniface* the eighth and *Philip* the fourth, *Julius* the second and *Lewis* the twelfth, *Sixtus* the fifth and *Henry* of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde*, *Pi* the fifth and Queen *Elizabeth*, *Gregory* the 14th and *Henry* the fourth, the Murderers of *Henry* the third applauded by *Sixtus* the fifth, and of *Henry* the fourth no less acceptable to *Paul* the fifth; are sufficient evidences that his Lordship was put to read no farther than the narrow compass of his own learning. This Article, or rather Maxime of the Church of *Rome*, approved and applauded by the practice and example of so many Heads of that Church, his Lordship at the instigation of his Tutor pretends to renounce in the present tense at the time of his death; but what his Opinion was before, we do not find that he read one syllable. A very fine contrivance to impose upon the people, for a Criminal to renounce at his death, when his renunciation signified nothing, those crimes which he had committed all along while he liv'd.

But here we are farther to observe the fallacy of this part of his written Paragraph: *I have been taught that the Doctrine of Murdering Princes is Diabolical, and detestable, and as such, I do renounce and abominate it.* So then, if it be not as he was taught, it is by the same words imply'd, that he did neither abominate nor renounce it. As he was taught, he did both abominate and renounce; as he came to know better, and had acted accordingly, he dy'd with an impenitent approbation.

Having thus juggl'd with the World as to the renunciation of the Murder of Kings: But, says he,

As to the doctrine of deposing Princes, I do in my conscience declare, That it is contrary to the Fundamental laws of the Kingdom, injurious to Sovereign Power, and consequently would be in me impious and damnable.

One might here wonder why the Framers of this Speech should here make a distinction between the Doctrine of Excommunicating and Murdering, and the Doctrine of Deposing Kings : For neither *Baronius, Bellarmine, Symancha, Mariana, Peter de Onna, Creswell, Tresbam, Guignard, Gueret, Verona*, nor many others that might be mentioned, make any distinction of the point, but all unanimously, though in different words, cry out, *A Papa condemnatum vel Excommunicatum occidere licet*. It is lawful to kill whomsoever the Pope has condemned or excommunicated, no matter how, whether by poison or any other way. And *Urban* the second made a Decree, That no person should be taken for a Homicide that murdered an Excommunicated Heretick. They that are unsatisfied of these Truths, may repair to the Learned, and see the words themselves. But now this same Serpent of a Speech-maker was subtiller than any of the Flock of Antichrist; and therefore he ordered his Pupil to distinguish between the Doctrines for the ease of his Conscience; and that he might separate the words *Renounce* and *Abominate*, from *impious* and *damnable*, to seem dreadful and forcible from the mouth of a dying man, and yet in reality signify nothing at all. For as to the first point of *Murdering*, that, the Criminal is ordered to renounce and abominate so far as he was taught. The second point of *deposing*, he neither abominates nor renounces, but only artificially waves, by declaring that it is his true and real judgment, that the same doctrine is contrary to the Fundamental laws of this Kingdom, and injurious to Princes; therefore it would be *impious* and *damnable* in him.

Here we are to observe, that the Proposition or Assertion is a general inclusive; the conclusion or General exclusive, a meer *invidium vagum*; because *this is*, therefore the other *would be*; when? When the King should be King, and that it were no injury to depose him. So that his Lordship declared his real judgment, but not the Truth that was expected from him. The ambiguity of the words do plainly demonstrate that his Lordship had no intention to make a real confession; and that it was his business only

——— *Ambiguas in Vulgum spargere voces.*

So to save himself from dying a Heretick, and denying at his death the very fundamentals of his Religion, which absolutely and positively uphold and enjoyn the Excommunicating, Dethroning, and Killing of all

all Princes Heretical and disobedient to the See of *Rome*. It is one thing to protest with a free and cordial sincerity; such a man shall never want such words, though of the meanest capacity, that you may see into his heart through the very breath that utters them. It is another thing to make solemn protestations in studied periods, and with weighty words placed and blended according to art and advantage. Such prudent formalities do but betray the guilt they endeavour to conceal, there being nothing that renders a Criminal more obnoxious, than a laborious elocution in his defence, as being a thing so unnecessary to a pure and untainted sincerity. It is the character of sincerity, that it opens the heart; but all the circumstances make it out, that his Lordships rehearſal was design'd to close and shut up his. So that all his solemn words having lost their sincerity by discovering their end, which was the concealment of his mind, he might as well have appeal'd to St. *Dominick* or St. *Christopher*, and have gained as much belief, especially when the Criminal dyes a Votary to a Religion so deeply bankrupt in its Credit already.

To my great and unspeakable grief I have offended God by many things; but I give him most humble thanks, not in any of these things of which I am accused.

Sure his Lordship had some mistrust in his protestations to the *All-knowing God*, which makes him here begin to complement him. But barring his Courtship, we hear him reading, *That he is not ashamed of his Religion*: Which what it was, all the World knows: So that it was but a course complement to say, That he had not offended him in any of those Crimes of which he was accused; it having been more civility for him to have submitted to the determination of the great Deity, whether they were Crimes or no. He had offended God's Vicegerent, and that was something of an argument against him. It seems he did commit those Crimes he was accused of, but he did not think them Crimes, as none of his Persuasion do; and so he was resolv'd to be his own Judge before he appear'd before the Tribunal of Heaven. This was an unlucky stumble, and something worse than that, when he read *commission* instead of *permission*, at the beginning of his Oration.

All the Members of either House having liberty to propose in the House, accordingly I proposed what I thought fit, the House is Judge of the fitness or unfitness of it; and I think I never said any thing that was unfitting there,

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there, or contrary to the Law and Use of Parliaments; But certainly if I had, the Lords would, as they might, have some way punished me. So I am not culpable before God or man.

This Argument might have been spar'd, because it makes against him: for the Lords did not punish him for any thing he did in the House, but they found him guilty both of what he did and said out of the House; and therefore by the force of his own induction he was culpable both before God and man. This was another foul mistake of his Lordships Instructor.

It is much reported of Indulgences, Dispensations, and Pardons to murder, lye, forswear, and commit such other Crimes held and given in the Church. I do here profess in the presence of Almighty God, I never learned, believed, or practised any such things, but the contrary: and I speak this without any equivocation or reservation whatsoever. And certainly were I guilty either of my self, or knew of any that were guilty, who soever that were so, of any of those Crimes of which I am accused, I were not only the greatest fool imaginable, but a perfect mad man, and as wicked as any of those that so falsely have accused me, if I should not discover any ill design I knew in any kind, and so upon discovery save my life, I having so often had so fair occasions proposed unto me, and so am guilty of self-murder, which is a most grievous and heinous sin. And though I was last impeached at the Lords Bar, yet I have great grounds to believe that I was first brought to Trial, on the belief that to save my life I would make some great discovery. And truly so I would, had I known any such thing of ill design, or illegal dangerous Plot, either in my self, or any other person whatsoever without exception. But had I a thousand lives, I would lose them all, rather than falsely accuse either my self, or any other whatsoever. And if I had known of any Treason, and should thus deny it, as I do now upon my salvation at this time, I should have no hope of salvation, which now I have through the Merits of Christ Jesus.

The alteration of stile in this Paragraph seems to imply that more heads than one went to the framing and inditing this Speech. And indeed, it is such a scrap of female tittle-tattle, and so unmasculine, as renders it very suspicious that some devout woman had a finger in this part. 'Tis well the Midwife is fast, else she might have the honour to have been mistrusted to have had a hand in making his Lordship as *Romantick* as her self; besides, that there is much of Meal-tub Recrimination in it. Whoever they were, since his Lordship is gone, they ought to answer for the false *English*, as well as for the silly stuff they made him utter. If it were not a woman, it was sure some Foreign Priest, and consequently as little to be credited as if the Priest himself had read it. It begins thus: *It is reported of Indulgences, &c. to commit crimes held and given by the Church.* But let the *English* be as false as it will, the report is certainly true. Who can imagine but that Father Cotton, Confessor to Henry the Fourth, when he told two such wicked lyes, as he did, to the very face of the King, had a dispensation for so doing? For first, when the King shewed Cotton certain Letters which he had received from *La Force*, giving him advice of a certain *Spaniard* then in *Paris* with a design to kill him, and describing his person, the said Cotton told the King, that the Letters were vain, frivolous, and not to be credited, though he knew the same person was in the City at the same time. And next, when the King commanded him that the person should be sought for, and brought to him, he went away, and after a pretended search returned, and told the King he could not find him, when he knew he was safe out of Town.

Who gave Father Garnet authority to tell his Judges, that *he knew how, and how far to equivocate.* For which *Endemon Johannes* wrote his Apology, and asserted the Doctrine of Equivocation out of the Scripture, the Fathers, and the School-men, which *Aquaviva* the Jesuit approved. These are no reports, but all matter of fact recorded in History.

As for Indulgences, all people that can read, may read in the History of the Council of *Trent*, that they were as cheap as Neck-beef all over *Germany* for all sorts of sins whatsoever, by the incomes whereof the Pardon-Mongers revel'd in all the debaucheries that the Bawdy-houses and Gaming-houses of that wide Country could afford them. But that which is more Comical (for remission of sins is but a May-game at *Rome*) is the *Book of Rates*, the most luscious toleration of wickedness that the wicked could expect. This Book of Indulgences was printed at *Paris* in the year 1570. by *Toussain Denis* in *St. James-street*, at the *Wooden Cross*, under the title of *Cancellaria Apostolica*, and contains the price of an Indulgence for several blessed Crimes.

Imprimis. Whoever shall deflower a Virgin, shall pay six groats.

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Item, He that shall carnally know, by consent of both parties, his own Mother, his Sister, or his Godmother, shall pay five groats : but if it be known publickly in the Church, then six.

Item, He that kills his Father or his Mother, shall pay a Duckat.

Let a man commit *Sodomy* or Incest, 'tis but saying, *Domine Jesu suscipe* ; and this application rightly made, according to the method of Cardinal *Sourdis*, gives ye a full and absolute Indulgence, and remission of all your sins, as well in reference to the Crime, as to the Punishment. For this reason the *Roman Catholick* Religion is said to be a Religion of so much indulgence, that by the precepts and freedom thereof, the gates of Heaven are always open at a minutes warning. And for the power of granting these Indulgences, *Leo* the tenth declared by a Bull dated the 9th of *November* 1518. That as Successor of *St. Peter*, and Vicar of Christ, he had power to grant them both for the living and for the dead. Now that his Lordship should have heard only by report, of this strange and wonderful power of the Pope, is a thing that will be hardly credited among the meanest of rational people. And then for Indulgences to rebel, who promoted the league of the *Guises*, and indulged them to rebel against their lawful Sovereign, tho of the same Religion, but the Pope himself? And at this time there is recent and sufficient proof against those that received Pardons for 30 000. and 50 000. years, for their vigorous management of this Plot for which his Lordship dyed; and against those that have lately carried Dispensations and Indulgences into *Ireland*, on purpose to encourage the people to rebel against their Native Prince.

However his Lordship never learned, believed, or practised any such thing, but always the contrary. That might probably be; not but that his Lordship had as much reason as another to reverence those high-priz'd blessings, but out of a youthful carelessness not trouble himself about the concerns of his Religion; but when once he came to be engaged in the Plot, all he did was meritorious, and so he needed neither Indulgence, nor Dispensation, nor Absolution for what he acted. What he means by practising the contrary, seems somewhat mysterious, unless it were that he refused those kindnesses when they were offer'd him, which shew'd an absolute contempt of his Holiness's Power and Authority, and a great neglect of his salvation. But he goes yet farther, and would make you believe that he made his protestation without equivocation or mental reservation. A strange presumption! For, how did he know but that they who prepar'd those words for him, made use of both at the same time? His implicit faith was very great in them, who he might easily find durst not trust him with his own expressions. Now let the world judg how fit a person his Lordship was to be credited in this or any thing that he read. A plain argument of the guilt not only

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of his Lordship, but of all the rest, that such a person as his Lordship could not be trusted to speak his own thoughts at his death, but that he must be directed to read what was most for the advantage of the rest of the Conspirators. And it was as great a sign that they took him for a fool or a mad-man; upon which two suppositions, together with that of being worse than those that so falsely accused him, he lays the whole stress of his innocency in this Paragraph. But they endeavour to clear him of those three circumstances, by pretending he would not have been such, had he forborn to discover any *ill design*, or *illegal dangerous Plot*, whereby he might have saved his life. Now the question is, Who shall be judg whether the *design* be *ill* or no, or the *Plot illegal* and dangerous or no. His Peers adjudg'd the *Design* to be very *ill*, and the *Plot* to be very illegal and very dangerous. But he and the rest of his Confederates were of a contrary opinion, because all was applauded and encouraged by the Blessings of the old Gentleman at Rome; and upon that account the *Design* and the *Plot* being neither *ill*, nor *illegal*, nor dangerous, his Lordship was not bound to discover it. But 'tis an advantage that a dying man has, that he may say any thing, because he sees the utmost extent of his punishment. But in the living it is a presumption equal to the Treason they lye under, to go about to deceive and outbrave the world with an executed Confederates Speech of their own framing. 'Tis an indignity to the Wisdom of his Majesty, to the Sincerity of his Judges, and the Justice of the Law, and in short to the very Reason of all. Then which, a greater affront cannot be done to Heaven it self; as if the Lords in the Tower were wiser than King, Lords, Commons, Judges, and all that bear sway in the Nation. And all this too, when their contrivance to conceal displays their shame. For to ask a plain question, What mean those Epithetes of *ill*, *illegal*, and *dangerous*, but to cover and bury somewhat that they were unwilling should see the light. Plain *Plot*, and plain *Design*, they durst not trust his Lordship with all, but being sweetned with *ill*, *illegal*, and *dangerous*, they knew his Lordships conscience would swallow 'em down. For had he not discovered an *ill design*, or an *illegal and dangerous Plot*, he had been a fool or a mad-man indeed; but to conceal a *Design* or a *Plot* without these qualifications, was the trick of a wise man. As if there could be any design against the King and his people, but what must be *ill*, *illegal* and *dangerous*.

Truly 'twas well the Lords and Commons of England had so much discretion left 'em to find it out at such an unlucky time when all the rest of the Wisdom in the whole Nation was lock'd up in the Tower. There had been a Jewel indeed for Col. Blood to have ventured for, had he watched his opportunity; but now the fifth part of the prize is gone.

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His refusing to *save his life*, when he had such *fair opportunities* to do it, if it were at his own Election, was no such act of Bravery, in him especially. For it is the opinion of most men that he would have sav'd it if he could. But to spoyl that scene, there was a *Jesuite*, or a Wife, or a Daughter, or a Lord still at his Elbow, that hung such massie gives upon his unsetled intentions, and so shakl'd his Resolution, that he could beg for life no farther then his chains would give him leave. His admittance to the Lords Bar was a Sally fore against the Confederates will; and no doubt but the whole party was in pain all the while; but when they were quit of their deadly fears, and had him safe again, they resolv'd he should put them into no more such Agonies. So that, after that, they plyed him with the warme Menaces of Purgatory, hot and hot, and kept his Bigotisme waking to prevent his Confession, as formerly they kept Witches waking to make 'em confess. And this is that which the Confederates would fain perswade the world to be an act of his free will. And they thought it better to pass him out of the world with a dose of Equivocation of their own compounding, then that he should speak his own sentiments to the Confusion of the whole confederacy.

But thirdly, He should be as wicked as any of those that had so falsely accused him if he did not discover, &c. This is Gaven, Harcourt and Ireland all over, plain downright lying to defend plain downright Treason. And indeed the Speech-makers could not have put his Lordship upon doing less, for since they were resolv'd to make him deny all things, it was to be expected that he should throw his durt upon the Evidence. Now these witnesses were such, as he had all the liberty in the world to except against, and all the leisure imaginable to say what he could to invalidate their Testimony; but all he could say was so little to the purpose, that it was rather Evidence against himself, than prejudicial to them. Time, Place, and several other Circumstances appeared and confirmed the truth of what they said. The meanest of the people certainly can not but know, with what grave and serious debate, with what a deliberate consideration, his Majesty and his Council, with what a laborious diligence two Parliaments have scanned and winnow'd this Mysterious Plot, sifted the Accusers, considered the accus'd. After all which the people are not to beleive what a Traytor reads upon the Scaffold in his drink, for such was his Lordships condition, to be encourag'd and embolden'd by inebriation to own the Lies and Forgeries of other mens framing. A way of dying more becoming a *Janizary* than a *Christian*, to outbrave death upon the stilts of Intoxication. How far God may have mercy upon the Soul of such a Lord as this, shall not here be disputed, but certainly those that made this speech for him, had no mercy upon it, no compassion at all. They that were so unkind as to send a man to his grave with a Label of Equivocations in his mouth, and so to inebriate his senses,

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that he might be incapable of minding what he read, were very indifferent whither he ever attained to that *Salvation* by which they made him so often protest. Certain it is, that his Speech was put in his hands but the same morning he was Executed, and that not long before he was delivered to the Sheriff. And it was a great Argument that he had not conn'd his Lesson, that he should make such a foul mistake at the beginning, as to read by the *Commission*, instead of by the *Permission* of Almighty God. And yet this is the man, that thinks to be believ'd for reading after other men, and telling the people what other men told him, that he was falsely accused.

I do beseech God to bless His Majesty, who is my Lawful King and Sovereign, who I was by all Laws Divine and Human bound to obey, and I am sure that no power upon Earth either singly or altogether can legally allow me or any body else to lift up a hand against him in his Legal Authority.

This Prayer might have been for the King of *France*, whom they had chosen for their Sovereign, as well as for the King of *England*, for there is no person particulariz'd. However if it be the King of *England* whom he means, he is very tender how he delivers his opinion concerning him, and allows him to be only out of danger in his *Legal Authority*. Now what his Speech-Merchants meant by *Legal Authority*, that's the doubt which they have been so often desired to explain. For if the King be a Heretick, and has no legal Authority in *England* upon that account, then it is lawful for any man to lift up his hand against him; but if the King will lay his Crown at the Popes feet, and take it up again as his vassal, then he shall be safe and secure. The King and Kingdom are mightily beholding to his Lordship for this kind decision of so weighty a point.

Next to Treason I hold Murther in abhorrence, &c.

Here they make him tell the people how much he abhors *Treason* and *Murther*. And it may be, had his Lordship liv'd under another Prince against whom he had not been invited to Conspire upon the Account of Religion, he might not have come to that untimely end, nor have dyed with so much dishonour. For then it had been Murther to
kill

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kill such a Prince, and Treason to alter the Government both Temporal and Ecclesiastical. But the King being a Heretick, and excommunicated, and not *Legally Authorized*, it seems his Lordship was unluckily drawn in, like the *Jack-daw* among the *Rooks*, and so suffered for what he so much pretends to abhor, believing as his Church believes, which teaches that Hereticks may be kill'd, and their Kingdoms dispos'd of to others. Nay he is so far from any design to *Assassinate* His Majesty, that though he could make himself as great as his heart could wish by the death of those *Perjur'd fellows that brought him to the block*, he would not do it. A very probable story; he would not murder their Bodies; and yet at the same time does all he can to murder their Reputations. Whoever these men were that knew so much of the witness being perjur'd, did his Lordship a very great unkindness not to appear to help his Lordship out at a dead lift, when he had so much need of their Counter-Evidence. But these vain attempts to perjure the Kings Evidence have been so frequent, and so frequently baffl'd, that it is the shame of their Strumpet Religion that they have no better shifts than these to hide her nakedness.

He is verily perswaded that the *King and his Dominions will be as happy as ever people were*. That is when the King by their means is in his grave and the people in bondage to the Tyranny of the See of Rome.

I forgive even those perjur'd men that so falsely have brought me hither by their perjury.

Here is malice and charity very artificially twisted together. He loads 'em first with a double charge of Perjury, and then forgives 'em, to mak 'em seem guilty. The Speech makers were very liberal of his Lordships forgiveness; but they thought it not ill laid out when it was to do mischief, and make the world believe, the Kings Evidence were perjur'd, not considering all the while how busily they were perjuring his Lordship at the same time, for do but observe what they make him say next.

I do now upon my Death and Salvation aver that I never spoke one word either to Oates or Turbervill, or to my knowledge ever saw them till my Trial.

A Ponderous Protestation; but he must read it out, because his
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Instructors will have it so. And yet there is a Gentleman, and a person of quality too, who since this protestation was made, avers that he has several times seen Mr. *Turberwill*, in the Company of his Lordship at *Paris*. But thus their own party must be satisfi'd, and the Protestants amus'd at the expence of his Lordships Eternal Infamy. For from hence it is plain that his Lordship did not read one word of truth upon the Scaffold. And then what becomes of his Lordship we must leave all the whole unbyass'd world to judge, nay the most devout of the party must tremble to think of it. But after all this, the Speech makes his Lordship believe he had a Conscience.

I hope, said he, that I have made it appear I have some Conscience. For if I had none, certainly I would have sav'd my life by acknowledging my self Guilty, which I could have done, tho I know I am not in the least Guilty. And I having some Conscience, make very ill use of it; for I throw my self into Eternal pain by thus plainly denying thus constantly, at my Death the knowledge of what I am accused of in the least.

This was like all the rest, for how could his Lordship hope he had any Conscience, when he knew it was in the custody of others? Or how could the Speech-makers be so confident to make his Lordship pretend that he had some Conscience as they call it, when they knew they had both *all* and *some* at their own disposal. So that this forced Argument signifies nothing. For the reason why his Lordship would not *save his life* by acknowledging his guilt, was not because he had some Conscience, but because he had a great deal of Folly, and because the Lord-Keeper of his Conscience and that little wit he had would not permit him to do it. And it was as small an Argument of his having some Conscience, for making so ill use of it, by

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by *so plainly and constantly denying at his death* what he was accus'd of; for all the use his Lordship made of his Conscience was only, to let Knaves abuse it. 'Twas his Speech-makers that made the ill use of his Conscience, that made it play at *Whoop all Hidd*; 'Twas they that yerk'd it about with a Whip and a Bell, and made it shew all the Tricks of a dancing Conscience, never plain, never true in any thing it protested or aver'd; and constant in nothing but in shifting and Equivocating. So that the Speech-makers may be said to have plaid off his Lordships Conscience at so many Throws as Paragraphs in the Speech, whether Plot or no Plot; We shall see how they will play their game, when they come to make their own stakes.

I have said thus much in discharge of my Conscience, and do aver all I have said to be really true.

How cunningly these same Trustees for his Lordships Conscience do play with their Trust? What *Legerduman* is here with God and the world? For how is it possible that he that hardly knew what he read, should aver upon his Salvation that all that he read was true. Oh, Sir, says Mr. Jesuit to this, you are under a mistake, we did not make him aver upon his Salvation that all that he read was really true, but that all which he said was really true. so that if you do not prove that he said any thing of the Speech, or that any of the Speech was his to say (for then he must have said it without book) then the whole Paragraph is neither true nor false, and so no breach in the Trustees, further then a Little stir upon his Lordships value of Salvation.

I shall say little of my Trial, and whether it were all according to the known Law, I am too much a party to say much of it. If it were not so, God forgive him or them that were the cause of it.

My Judges were all persons of Honor, who were all as much bound to judge rightly as if they had bin upon Oath of what was legally prov'd, and not to vote but according as in their Consciences they were satisfied. And if any of them did otherwise upon any account whatsoever, I beseech God forgive them, I do so heartily.

In these two Paragraphs they put him to read an Endictment against the Proceedings of the Law and the Integrity of his Judges. But the People are too well satisfied in the great Wisdom, and unparallel'd Sincerity of the Supream Legislators of the Kingdom, then to question either upon the surmizes of Equivocating Traytors. The Leisure which the Prisoner had allow'd him for his defence, the freedom he had to make choice of his Council in cases of difficulty, and the Patience of so select

an Assembly to hear his cause, were such Arguments to evince the Equality and impartiality of their proceedings that nothing can be more apparent to the world. They that made this Speech have put the rest that follow upon a difficult task to make out the reason of these doubts. For great things will be expected from them, which if not perform'd will render Speech-making and Speech-makers one of the most contemptible Employments in the world: So that as for that same virtue of forgiveness, since it depended upon so many *Is* and *Ands*, they might have spar'd that unnecessary price of sic Revenge, in a man whom it becom'd to die rather like a *Christian* than a *Politician*, Unless you will allow them as words of course, as us'd by all that suffer either at the Block or at the Gallows.

They make him end with a short Ejaculation for His *Majesties* happiness. Which how hearty they were, we make no doubt but His Majesty is sufficiently sensible who was so deeply sensible of the Crimes he had committed against him. They make him conclude with a formal prayer to Heaven in these words.

I beseech God not to revenge my Innocent blood on the Nation nor those that were the causers of it, I do with my last breath assert my Innocence. And the Omnipotent All-seeing just God deal with me accordingly.

A very untoward ending to breath forth with his last breath a prayer so full of malice, as tending only to charge the whole Nation with his *Innocent* blood, after such a fair and legal Conviction of his Crimes. Which if they that made it for him, beleiving his Innocence to be real, thought the steames of Intoxication, which they call his *last* breath, to be a proper Vehicle to convey it to Heaven, they had a very ill opinion of the Place. And we may justly hope, from thence that the request of a Criminal that knew not what he crav'd, will not be so easily granted. Especially when we consider what the verity of Scripture sayes concerning the prayers of the wicked; when we consider that Innocence never wants words of her own to justify her self; and that Crimes are not so soon wash'd off by Prayers and Protestations of a suffering Traytor artificially fram'd and meditated, and larded with malice and untruth meerly to cover the Guilt, and advance the designs of the living.

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